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THOUGHTS

RECOMMENDATORY OF

A COALITION

BETWEEN THE GREAT

PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS,

IN

A LETTER

TO THE AUTHOR OF "A VIEW OF THE RELATIVE
SITUATIONS OF MR. PITT AND
MR. ADDINGTON," &c.

"Could wishes decide, there should be an end of Party. All the opposing Benches in the House of Commons present abilities, that might yet save the nation. Can any man refuse to say, that Mr. Fox's mind is of the very first class? It is dreadful to think that the whole of this ability is excluded from the Cabinet.

"A View of the relative Situations," &c.

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Feb. 22, 1864. T48

THOUGHTS
ON
A COALITION,
&c.

IT is the fault of most of our political publications, that they are chiefly retrospective; and I confess, Sir, your own, sensibly conceived and well written as it is, seems to me to partake of that fault. One vigorous mind alone has run before its fellows, and has boldly ventured to suggest the means by which the difficulties, that encompass us, may yet be surmounted. To the suggestion of that mind, you have not been wholly inattentive: and, that you have not been so, has in truth given me much satisfaction, since it has given me much hope.

Having stated in your view of the relative situations of Mr. PITT and Mr. ADDINGTON, pre-

vious to, and on the night of Mr. PATTEN's motion, that you voted for the previous question moved by Mr. PITT, I may fairly assume, that your inclination is with him ; and I, perhaps, shall not go too far, when I say that, as a member of the House of Commons, you, for your seat, are not entirely unindebted to his influence. His, Sir, is an influence, which, I am sure, I mean not to say, carries disgrace with it ; I mention it with no such insinuation. The connection which subsists between you, is honourable to you, and honourable also to him, for your knowledge and respectability make you worthy of it ; the sole reason by which I am led to speak of it, is, that as the suggestion of the author of the Political Register is evidently alluded to in your pamphlet, without any intimated fear of its never being realized, it should seem, that the event desired so earnestly, not only by that able writer, but, I believe, by all men of reflection in the kingdom, is not so distant, as might once have been imagined. Need I say, that event is a coalition of all the great leaders in parliament, with a view to the formation of a ministry, equal in energy to the importance of the
present

present crisis? If the friends of Mr. PITT think such a junction possible, for a certainty, there is no ground for despair.

~~It~~ has been truly said, that on that *most considerable* man, the eyes of the whole country are at present turned with anxious eagerness. Not so much from the respect still attaching to his name, not so much from his commanding intellect, nor from remembrance of the high place, which he of late held in the direction of his Majesty's councils, as from the situation in which he stands at this individual moment. On all sides is it confessed, that in his hands are the issues of fate, the life or death of the present administration. His way is yet to choose; for his own sake, every independent man would wish him to choose wisely; but since that choice implicates in it the commonweal, every independent man would willingly do more: he would strive, had he the power, to direct it. For myself, indeed, unconnected as I am with him, it would be folly in the extreme; presumption in the highest to suppose, that my opinions could have any weight in determining his resolutions, which.

whatever they may be, are of course by this time finally taken ; but though I cannot expect that they should in any manner affect him, yet I know not why they should not be laid before the public. Should his decision eventually be wrong, every possible exertion of every possible individual will be necessary to stem the evils, which, in my mind, will flow in upon us, as a consequence of such decision. Should it be such, as for mine own part I should think right, I shall have merely thrown away some few, not very important hours, in the support of that, which would have taken place without my interference. At all events, however, I am happy to have an opportunity of addressing myself to the public through you. Our end is, I believe, the same ; and though your personal attachment to the ex-minister will not suffer you, perhaps, so thoroughly to awaken to some of his mistakes, as I do myself, yet there, I imagine, will nevertheless be no very serious cause of difference. Mr. PITT's way, I have said, is yet to choose, and his final choice must be of right or wrong, of good or evil. If I am asked by what authority I venture to pronounce the one right, the

the other wrong, I must, perforce, own, that the result of my own investigation, though authority to me, is necessarily not so to another, and I regret therefore, that I shall not be able to give so full and strict a detail of the reasonings, upon which my conclusion rests, as, had I leisure, I should strive to do. In writing, however, to you, Sir, I have, at least, this advantage, that there is a common and acknowledged term betwixt us. You are yourself too inured to thinking not to perceive by what train of thought I am misled; should you conscientiously deem me misled; and you will not therefore be prone to censure that as dishonesty, which your own experience must have taught you may be simply error. You are also able, Sir, to fill up for yourself, what occasionally I shall be compelled to pass over.

I have spoken of Mr. PITT's mistakes. Mistakes he seems to me to have committed; and they alone explain the circumstances, which have of late necessarily embarrassed his course of action.

With Mr. BURKE and many other writers I am
persuaded,

persuaded, that in a free state parties are unavoidable ; and I am persuaded too, that they are not generally hurtful. Such was the nature of the late war, however, that it might have been well, perhaps, had there been no opposition. We all know there was a vigorous one. No man can as he pleases create events, but a wise one will always endeavour to profit by them. “ Time,” said a philosopher, “ is my estate.” Events, the produce of time, are the statesman’s personal chattels : they are the cards with which the politician plays. He cannot deal to himself what he chooses, but with a bad hand he may make his points.

It is the ill fortune of this country, that it has sustained all the danger of an opposition, without reaping its benefit.

Your friend, Sir, is a man of acknowledged ambition ; but his ambition is of a noble strain. I sincerely therefore grieve, that he suffered not the peace to be made by the old opposition. If peace was in reality expedient, they best could make who had so long been its pledged advocates.

Negotiations,

Negotiations, after all, are conducted by human agents, and that which applies to man naturally is also applicable to him politically. Sure am I, that neither in terms, nor probable duration, would Mr. Fox's peace have been worse than Mr. ADDINGTON's.

- You will ask, however, if Mr. PITT should have, unarmed, surrendered himself to his adversaries? They were generous adversaries, and such are often better than insidious friends. I suspect he begins himself to think so; but there is little need of such an answer. On every other subject but that of continuance in the war, the country and the House of Commons were with him. Of Mr. Fox's powers, however, in my judgment, he may have occasionally misused them, no man can think more highly than myself. In inventive energy, in fertility of resource, in extent of understanding, he is equal (shall I say more than equal?) to his richly-gifted antagonist; but with all his ability, I suspect he never could have maintained his place half the time which Mr. ADDINGTON has done. Of personal fear Mr. PITT may probably have *heard*, but, I believe, a calculation on the possibility of a changing tide in public opinion occurred not to his mind;

mind; neither at the period of his resignation was the posture of domestic politics such as to warrant any dread from Mr. Fox's scheme of government. To whatever measures he stood pledged, they were such as would have afforded ground of contest, none of fear. Supported by Mr. WINDHAM and the GRENVILLES, was Mr. PITT, in opposition, likely to be so feeble, as to leave the country a defenceless prey to evil counsellors? It would be waste of words to press this further; it may be said, however, Mr. PITT resigned not with a view to intended negotiation. Is that credible? But grant it be so, I cannot yet wholly acquit him: nothing should have induced his resignation, but failure in that great turning point of his administration, the war with France.

But when he went so far as even to nominate his successors, from that moment naturally sprung up the embarrassments, which now he feels.

If his plan of politics were, to return to power after the peace, the GRENVILLES should have been made to understand his policy. Their oppo-

sition was, we know, immediate and systematic; it has also been incessant. That the present ministers could not therefore admit them into power, without signing the death-warrant of their own character, must, I think, in candour be allowed. Though the public care not for their character, yet, as gentlemen, if not great statesmen, they surely may be permitted to set some value on it themselves. This confession I am bound to make. I have nothing favourable for them more. Thus then stood Mr. PITT. He was, in his individual capacity, either to approve of them, to oppose them, or to become their leader without the GRENVILLES. To do the first exceeded, it must be owned, all power of face. Have their measures, nay, any one of them, deserved or gained the confidence of the nation? Were I to put it to the nation, the answer would on every side be, No! Was he then directly to oppose them? This, feelings of an honourable kind necessarily prevented. Upon this part, Sir, of the statement, it is necessary for me to say little, since you, Sir, have already said so much. The remaining course admits of examination. Mr. PITT had been in office, and

well knew therefore its difficulties. He had fought a hard fight, even with the assistance of the able chiefs, who head the Grenville party. He had at last perhaps made rather a retreat of ten thousand than a conquest. If with them he but half succeeded, is it much that he should be unwilling to contend without them? This difficulty is clearly a consequence of his, as I think, ill-judged resignation to Mr. ADDINGTON. Had Mr. FOX and Mr. GREY made the peace all would have been well. His opposition would then (as, if at all, it ought) have been erect and manly. With no companions to turn his arms against, and no clients to defend from hostile inroad, his toil would then have been against a tried and veteran foe,

“ I do beseech you,

“ By all the battles wherein we have fought,

“ By the blood we 'ave shed together, by the vows

“ We 'ave made to endure friends——

“ ——Set me against this Tullus and his Antiates.”

This had been intelligible: this consistent! In truth, the reasons, whether of honour or consanguinity, which formerly influenced his descent
from

from power, necessarily prevent his return to it, unaccompanied by his former friends. They are indeed still more strong against the one, than they possibly could be against the other,

During the late war Mr. PITT ever considered himself as the foe of France, on narrower grounds than those occupied by Mr. WINDHAM and Lord GRENVILLE. They warred against the life of France, whilst living as a republic ; he, against her, only as the oppressor of the Continent. He at all times used to declare his readiness to make peace, whenever a peace, tolerably secure, could be obtained. I cannot think his negociation would have ended more disadvantageously than that of Mr. ADDINGTON. He chose, however, I will say, *honourably* chose, to identify himself with the GRENVILLES, and with them he retired from place. Is it then to be wondered at, that he should refuse to re-enter the portals of office, if those portals opened not also for them? I see nothing strange, nothing unnatural, nothing that ought to be unexpected in his determination, having fallen with them, not to rise without them.

Under impressions such as these, I imagine, your friend to have been at the period of Mr. PATTEN's motion. And was there really then any thing so monstrous in the step he took on that occasion? It was, at least, a milder mode of announcing his hostility than by a direct and open vote against them. I mean not to condemn ministers, however, for treating it (in fact it was such) as a hostile declaration. The recess of parliament soon after followed; and Mr. PITT, still, I believe, felt himself embarrassed by the situation in which he had placed himself. At length, thanks to the improvidence of ministers, out came "the Cursory Remarks." In that act alone has their rule been felicitous to the country. It has cut that knot which could not easily have been untied. They have themselves slipped their cables, and are on the wild ocean reckless of convoy. The PITT, Seventy-four, is free to bend its majestic sail whithersoever the public service may require. To consider what that service really asks shall now then be our purpose.

It is peculiar to the present war, that the public at large

large has agreed to make no inquiry about its causes. Never was a measure so serious and important worse defended, yet never on the whole was a measure so serious equally popular; fortunate, however, as this may be for the successors of the present ministers, I fear, it is far from paradoxical to say, that from this they can derive no credit. To that unlucky prejudice against their intellects, with which the nation is possessed, did they owe their safety. It has served them in the stead of merit more than once. But though in piping times of peace a good sort of minister, like other good sort of men, may do well enough, yet God preserve the land from such, at a crisis like the present! By the cry, however, of ministerial writers, one should think that to remove ministers from power was to strip them of their estates, that to turn them out of their places was to turn them out of their houses. Heaven forbid, that any man's private right should be trenched upon, on the ground of incapacity or ill-desert (though even in this case idiocy is a good reason for vesting the management of property in others); but never let it be said or thought that power is to

be retained by such a tenure. That power is in the nature of a trust, and to be held for the benefit of the whole, not of a part, is a doctrine that would be acknowledged, I believe, even by your eloquent friend, however adverse to popular theories he may have, prudently, been found. To denominate his Majesty's ministers usurpers (it *has* sometimes foolishly been done) is absurd. They derive their authority from that fountain, whence, says our constitution, legitimate authority must all arise. That same constitution, however, has placed in parliament the lawful check on power incompatible with public safety. It is there, therefore, administration *may*, and, I trust, *will* be successfully opposed. The outward form of confidence withdrawn (the spirit of confidence has never been with them), the ministers must of course give way to those, who are better fitted for the service of the state.

It is the misfortune, rather than the fault of the present servants of the crown, that, previous to their exaltation, they ranked as subordinate members of the House of Commons. I will not repeat the old story

story of the Scythians, their slaves and the scourge : but it is not easy to contend with those, whom we have been accustomed to feel above us.

Mr. PITT in 1783 was armed with the venerated remembrance of Lord CHATHAM. He was *new* also to the House, and before he stepped into office had dared to measure strength with the greatest of those who possessed it. Lord MELVILLE, (and who will compare Mr. ADDINGTON to him ?) knew human nature too well to have entertained a thought of making *himself* the minister. He wisely gave way to Mr. PITT, and an efficient administration was formed ; an administration, nevertheless, which had to encounter no muffled buffets.

The present ministers have no such advantages ; they are neither beloved nor feared. They derive nothing from remembrance of past exertions ; they possess nothing of novelty to inspire hope. It is in vain we are told of their good intentions. Yes, I admit, they wish to save the country. But so does Mr. PITT ; so does Mr. FOX ; so does
Mr.

Mr. WINDHAM. These men have long been standing on an eminence ; they are in the minds of the people at home—they are in the mouths of nations abroad. Neither Mr. ADDINGTON nor I can alter this. I believe too, we ought not to strive to do it ; it were a new jacobinism, a jacobinism against talents to attempt it. I can no more destroy the effects of labour and long exercised abilities, than I ought to do the respect due to birth, or the rights to property. It is true, the world is sufficiently changeful, and sufficiently mindless of past deserts ; but to create forgetfulness of our predecessors, the breath of fame must be employed by something done by ourselves. What say the ministers to this ? Will *disgrace* wipe away renown ? The truth is, they cannot long go on. Who are then their successors ? Mr. PITT without the GRENVILLES ? It has been shown, that this can scarcely be. Mr. PITT and the GRENVILLES ? This would be something : but, I fear, not enough. It is another peculiarity, a fortunate one, of this war, that it is a war of open rivalry. It is France against England, not democracy against monarchy. I will not say

say how far the war of ninety-two implied the latter, but, certain I am, that it is a main point to continue on the ground we are now. Mr. Fox, Sir, you inform us, has declared his wish for Mr. PITT's return to power, rather than for the continuance of the present men : it is a noble declaration, worthy of Mr. Fox. But, I suspect, it is requiring too much of human nature, and consequently of him, to look for his full acquiescence under a new administration formed by Mr. PITT and the GRENVILLES. Mr. Fox once emphatically said, " that for his own part ambition was dead in him." I believe it is so, as to power. But I am afraid as to love of reputation, as to jealousy of statesman-like ability, it *cannot be so* :

" Even in our ashes live their wonted fires."

Sorry, very sorry, should I be for them, and still more for my country, were Mr. PITT and Mr. Fox once again to meet in opposition. At the same time it is clear that the sacrifice must be made by Mr. PITT. He alone can *command* place, Mr. Fox can only *accept* it. But, if it be a sacrifice, it

is such a one, as, in my very soul, I am persuaded Mr. PITT ought to make. Ought, because utility demands it. As to the mere point of who should fill this place, or who that, it is a thing alike beneath them both.

I believe, Sir, since the termination of their contest, independent men are agreed in thinking that, in external politics, Mr. PITT's counsels were, not unfrequently, unwise: and that in domestic politics Mr. Fox's were frequently unsafe. I imagine, Sir, that their different conduct may be accounted for (I speak not laughingly, and, I believe, you are not yourself a man to laugh at this imagination) by taking into consideration their relative situation. Mr. PITT, in possession, necessarily turned his mind upon home: and his measures from this prime feeling were sometimes, from anxiety, narrower than they need have been. Mr. Fox, full of his own scheme of politics, and surely too not unaware of the powerful administration which he opposed, too often pressed beyond the limit of sober prudence. It is much however in a statesman to *have* a line of politics: and I cannot see (one now looks on with the impartiality of a spectator)

tator) but that, in ninety-two, there was a fair and reasonable ground of political separation in opinions, and consequently in measures to be adopted. We cannot condemn Mr. PITT, for most of us went along with him. Neither can it be asserted, that Mr. Fox's plan was such, as could not, without depravity, have been adopted by a statesman of intelligence. The line of conduct once chosen, the rest followed of course. I, at this time, gaze on this civil battle with amazement. If contrasted with the forbearance shown towards the present ministers, who nevertheless complain!—upon the giants are heaped mountains, yet still they live: pygmies are buried beneath cockle-shells!

But this is retrospection.—In addition to that of their relative situation, there was also another difference, which not a little influenced their respective courses: I mean the theories in politics, which they had previously assumed. Mr. Hume long ago said, that every party in this country, perforce, fortified itself with an abstract theory. I do not esteem it a discredit to a country, where this is the case. But does any man (you, Sir, I am sure cannot, for the reader of Grotius and Thuanus, the reader

also of Gentilis and Salmasius never *can*), does any man, of *commonly*-enlarged understanding, believe, that abstract theories ought *for ever* to divide superior minds from acting together for the public good? School-boys, my dear Sir, and newly-matriculated freshmen, may ingenuously think so, and I will love them for it; but, for wisdom's sake, let not matured men talk thus. In the adoption of a theory, sentiment has ever been more busy than reason. Sentiment has set it working, yet reason however has always prevailed so far as to make utility the *gît* of the system, whatever the system itself has been. If the same object therefore seem, *bonâ fide*, useful to different theorists, there need be little question about the theories themselves. Where, where, alas! would the world be, if *theories* were *necessary* to its going on? Two-thirds of its inhabitants know nothing about them, of its inhabitants! of its statesmen!

It is a consideration of more real weight, whether their adopted theories would necessarily lead, at the present crisis, to such measures as could not be mutually acquiesced in? It is almost needless to remind
you,

you, Sir, that Mr. PITT and Mr. Fox have ever, with regard to France, been less opposed to each other in their respective view of politics than to Mr. WINDHAM. Betwixt Mr. Fox and Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. PITT therefore would hold the balance. Mr. Fox, if left to himself, would, possibly, immediately negotiate. This, I am inclined to say, he must give up. Mr. WINDHAM, on the contrary, did he pursue his own wishes, would openly make common cause with the Bourbons. To this neither Mr. PITT nor Mr. Fox, who both approved of the treaty of Amiens, can well be expected to accede. This project therefore must be sacrificed on the part of Mr. WINDHAM. I cannot indeed perceive, how much so ever it might be desirable politically to obtain the restoration of that illustrious family, that England can now honourably contend for such an object. Having once, at the peace of Amiens, acknowledged the First Consul, I cannot see on what ground he now can fairly be assailed by us, on the score of usurpation. Had I vanity enough to think my speculations would be heeded by the public, I should be glad to examine this in detail. My aim at present, I confess, is speed. I

Wish,

wish, Sir, to induce the country seriously to consider the advantages of this proposal for one great Coalition. If this once be made a public topic, there are minds enow to pursue the subject through all its bearings without my puny aid. After all, the plan to be pursued must necessarily be arranged by the great parliamentary leaders themselves. It is simply my purpose to familiarize the public mind to the probability of such a junction. That no such radical differences exist as, at the present juncture of affairs, need prevent it, I have briefly shown.

They can, indeed, know little of human nature, who do not feel that something of this sort is necessary for the salvation of the nation. In a war such as this is, in which we are engaged against an enemy, for *attacking* whom we have few natural resources, enthusiasm is above all things necessary to our existence. Enthusiasm there indeed is, but, alas! it is mere defensive enthusiasm. To defend our homes we are in arms, and woe! to the proud invader who dare set his foot upon our strand! But this spirit, Sir,
you

you have truly said, is quite unconnected with administration. What, what then shall enkindle spirit, if the invader come not, and we are to seek him out of doors? Will this home-bred zeal assist us then?

“Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits.”

Preserve us from these war-ministers for the home department, good Heaven! To remain, unemployed and inactive at home, will be our certain ruin. New enthusiasm and new resources must therefore be created; and will it be pretended, that Lord HAWKESBURY, the ablest, and Mr. YORKE, the most reputable, of the present servants of the crown, can create enthusiasm, can *command* resources? They are sunk too, the one by his *mode* of going to war, the other by his brotherhood to poor Lord HARDWICKE, even below their natural level. You have noticed, Sir, the ministerial cant about eloquence not always being accompanied by equal wisdom. Eloquence, you truly say, is, in a free state, always something. But what wisdom have the good men in
power

power to set off as a balance against their want of speech? The orators in parliament may well say, as the herdsmen do in Sophocles (I quote from our English translation of Plutarch),

“ We obey them, whom we ought to govern,
 “ And they command us, *though they're dumb.*”

Eloquence is always something. The majority of the members of the House of Commons, like the majority of every other numerous body, is to be led. Very good, ministerial votes, in spite of Mr. YORKE's foolish saying, are of little value without good ministerial talk. There is a wide difference between voting, and voting with a free and satisfied heart. There is a wide difference between obeying, and feeling proud of our obedience.

A laughing legal friend of mine, talking over with me the intercourse, which took place betwixt France and England, about the time of the rupture, strongly expressed his sorrow at the want of vigour, even at that period, betrayed by ministers.

“ If

“ If Mr. ADDINGTON be in earnest,” said he, “ why does he not, through the Sovereign, *command* the services of our great men? Let Mr. PITT be sent ambassador to Berlin, and Mr. Fox to Petersburg. We shall then, either, preserve Hanover and Malta, and have peace, or have Europe to back us in a war. As for Mr. WINDHAM and Lord GRENVILLE, shut them up in the Tower.”

Now, Sir, though I certainly do not approve of the last recommended measure, and would not have undertaken to answer for the full success even of the first, yet if ministers had shown, in any single action, any thing like that power of understanding, which, in emergencies, lightens upon that, which is at once new and prudent, I would forgive their imbecility in the House for the sake of their ability out of it. The truth is, they possess no such capacity: long ere this must they have displayed it, had they been so gifted. They are underlings, and have the minds of underlings. Even a union with the old opposi-

tion had been better than their present nothingness.

I have digressed, however, from my immediate subject. There is a difference, I was saying, between obeying, and feeling proud of our obedience. In the first instance, we simply do what is asked of us ; in the second, we talk of what we do. Those to whom we speak, speak of it to others. Our children and friends, and domestics and dependents, join in it. The inhabitants of towns carry it into the country ; the land at length thrills with it. “ I served at Quebec under Wolf,” says the aged veteran : “ And my father,” replies the stripling, “ was with Abercrombie in Egypt.” And is it at all otherwise in civil affairs ? When Gibbon speaks with exultation of the talents displayed in that parliament, in which he sat, talents, which awed him into silence, does he speak a language foreign to human nature ? or shall I wrong the members of the present House of Commons, by supposing that many of them feel, as he felt ? And is it really no evil to rob them of that feeling ? Is it nothing

to

to place these gentlemen in a situation, in which, though they vote, they vote without reliance upon those they vote for? There was, during the late war, a plan for an administration, at once independent of Mr. PITT and Mr. Fox. Lord MOIRA was to have been at its head. (Mark! Lord MOIRA! and now Mr. ADDINGTON!) Sir WILLIAM PULTENEY, chancellor of the exchequer, and we will say, (You, Sir, have in your pamphlet introduced the gentleman!) Mr. ROBSON, secretary of state; Mr. ROBSON, a reputable man, if no speaker. Would Mr. YORKE have patiently acquiesced in this arrangement? or, if he had, would he not have felt, that he no longer stood forth to his country in the proud way he did before—a follower, though not a servile follower, of a man of tried genius? I know, Sir, that all this to you is unnecessary. Your personal situation forces upon you the conviction, that the heart of the House of Commons, if not dead, is asleep. And how then can it be expected, that the country, which it represents, shall be lively and awake? I should lament, deeply lament, ever to find the one occupied by feelings, in which the other did

not participate. Fully to inspirit the one it is absolutely necessary to invigorate the other: and that can only be done by a measure such as that, which I am recommending. It will of course be said, "Well, but the countenance of the crown, the ministers have that." It is at all times a great deal: but in addition to that, "they have the benefit of the love, *personally* due to, and *personally* felt for his Majesty." This is a hallowed topic, and must be treated reverently. No monarch more deserves, and none more possesses the hearts of his subjects than our own. As far as invasion is concerned, to spring forth in the defence of his beloved and venerable sovereign is the natural impulse of every Briton, but our condition demands something more than merely to *repel* attack. We must assail in turn, or fall. I stay not to consider the mode of attack, but attack is vital to our interests. Is it wise then to trust to *one* source of influence, when others, not merely consistent with, but thoroughly subservient to, that first, honoured source, are actually amongst *our* means? The monarch is in a great degree stationary. If the
King

King be *legally* omnipresent, he cannot be so personally ; other intermediate influences are necessarily therefore to be sought after. They are provided for by the institution of a House of Commons. The intercourse betwixt the people and their representatives is the great instrument of our free constitution for this, above all other purposes; and, Heaven forbid, we should ever live to see it neglected. Not only can the person of the King not be present *there*, but even his very name, consistently with the maxims of the House, can seldom be introduced. Much therefore must necessarily depend on the individual weight of the minister. You, Sir, have put this very strongly. Mr. ADDINGTON, you say, was saved on such a night by Mr. Fox. On such a topic Mr. PITT stepped forth to his deliverance. All this, Sir, is natural, and is the necessary consequence of a popular assembly. It is no more possible to prevent impressions being made on the hearers than it is to hinder a man's feeling, in the open air, the gale that breathes upon him. Private feelings (if such, which may reasonably be doubted, there are) will not long predominate

predominate in the breast of that great personage, whose rule of life is the good of his people. To that every other consideration has been accustomed to yield, and will now yield. Let Mr. ADDINGTON, if indeed he possess it, continue to enjoy the favour of his Royal Master. Let him be the confident, the favourite: only let him abstain from politics; let him cease to be the minister, and let him be what else he may. The war against France is an object great enough to occupy the attention of all our *tried* statesmen. To that should all their faculties be bent. Let us not be told, that the Coalition cannot go on after a peace, after the termination of our vast struggle. I should hope it might: but that may be left to chance. Let the country be saved, let it again be placed on its ancient pedestal of greatness amidst the states of Europe, and then let our politicians agree or quarrel, or do what they will. It is a thing not worth caring for. Were the situation of the country such, as to give the present ministry a chance of going on, they could only do so by calling in the assistance of some abler chieftain. But it is *not* possible:

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in *no way* is it possible. Mr. HASTINGS is, perhaps, the only man, out of the House of Commons, of intellect, capacious enough for the present mighty trial. To make that man minister, to enable him, whilst all his political antagonists stood aloof, to give renewed importance to Britain, and restored security to Europe, were a boon, which he well deserves, and which alone could compensate him, for that ungrateful persecution, which he, so patiently, so nobly sustained. But it cannot be. That injured statesman has not enough personal influence, and has not the gift of eloquence. Even he could not uphold this weak administration. On the other hand, the proposed coalition would supply, largely supply, all that is required, much as it is, that is required. Invention, knowledge, eloquence, connection, feeling, popularity.

With Mr. PITT are the scarcely-concealed wishes of a large portion of the House of Commons, and of the commercial and monied interest. His are the Bank and the East India company; with him are the desires of all those who owe their conse-
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quence to newly-acquired wealth from trade : they feel that he is their guardian ; that by him their affairs are understood ; that by him they will be treated as affairs of dignity ; that by him they will be liberally explained and protected.

With Lord GRENVILLE and Mr. WINDHAM, is a large part of the landed aristocracy of the kingdom ; and the high feelings founded upon an admission of the maxims natural to that rank of society : the pride of birth, the spirit of honour, the chivalrous attachment to that throne, of which they are the constitutional ornaments. Theirs too is that lofty love of their country, which makes them indignant of an equal nation in the scale of powers. They are in soul inheritors of the mantle of Burke. In their train rank most of the owners of the soil, who love the state chiefly as a monarchy. An ancient stock, which should never be rooted out.

Mr. Fox has with him a large portion of the aristocracy : an aristocracy however, which deriving its original importance from popularity, is still imbued with a traditionary zeal for liberty. With

him are the literary classes: with him are the lovers of fame, those whom education has taught to seek their reward from posterity; those, who, nurtured with Greek and Roman story, have so suffered fondness for freedom to twine about their hearts, that not jacobinism itself can tear it from them. With him too, for this is no season for concealment, are the *reformed* jacobins of the state, men whose warmth, when justly bounded by discretion, and guided to a wholesome end, has a main and useful influence, on that which Mr. Burke has named “the floating and natural representative of the political feeling of a nation.”

What could not these men conjoined produce at home? What could they not undertake abroad? —Though the outlines of the influence attached to these great individuals is, I think, Sir, fairly drawn, yet must it of course be understood, that they admit of limitation and explanation.

Mr. PITT, in as much as he directs the commercial interests, is necessarily allied to the democracy of the country. By birth also he is bound

to a part of the aristocracy. The TEMPLES, the GRENVILLES, the WYNNES, and MANNERS'S, cannot be considered as strangers to him. Neither with Mr. CANNING as his chosen friend, is he detached from the world of letters. For Mr. WINDHAM, he is himself a trained man of letters, and is widely connected with that class of society. Nor can he so have forgotten the lessons of his youth, as not to allow for, if not still occasionally to feel, the glow of an ancient republican. Lord GRENVILLE, Mr. THOMAS GRENVILLE, and Dr. LAWRENCE, they too are, at least, lovers of letters, in the proportion, in which their stations have respectively permitted them to indulge in such pursuits. They are looked up to therefore by those to whom the talking part of minor politicians is used to look up, the literate and the thinking. Neither can Mr. FOX, on his part, with his wide and extended connections (I allude not to the RUSSELS, the CAVENDISH'S, and the HOWARDS) be fairly deemed unconnected with the trade of the country. The manufacturers have at no time ceased to regard him.—Once again, Sir, what may not such a junction be expected to effect?—The Continent

itself would awaken at the report. It is in this point, for I shall speak out, I most am anxious for Mr. Fox's accession to the proposed junction. Mr. PITT, Lord GRENVILLE, and Mr. WINDHAM, were lately in the cabinet; they acquitted themselves ably, but their strength is known: a new, and consequently more imposing aspect, would be given to it by Mr. Fox.

His opinions, when he was in opposition during the last war, are known (I for one regret it) much to have influenced the feelings of foreign nations. Russia, except during the late reign, when "madness ruled the hour," and system of every kind was mocked at, ever inclined to listen to him; the other Northern Courts bent towards *his* course of politics. France herself would most be earnest about *his* sentiments. Prussia and Austria too, both may be reasonably expected to feel respect for the Coalition-Cabinet.

I own, Sir, I am passionate for the event of this speculation. On each part of this important subject a variety of relations throng upon me,

which want of time prevents me from developing ; they all however lead to the positive necessity of this great measure. There is no stirring forward without it.

A country, situated as our own, is perhaps without example in history. Posterity will be at a loss to comprehend, how it can have been *possible*, with so many men of capacity, that we should thus be deprived of them all.

Were an old Greek or Roman let fall amongst us at the present instant, what, my dear Sir, can we imagine would be the sensation which our free state would excite in him? “ What (would he not say?) and are you actually at open war? I see indeed numbers of citizens in military habits bustling about your streets ; citizens, I suppose, who are to recruit the distant armies, which are engaged on your enemy’s frontier. But what is your senate about? Who are the great men there? What deliberation is taking place in your assembly of the people? Who are the great leaders, the proposers and defenders of the measures by which
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the struggle, in which you are engaged, is at length gloriously to be terminated? You are a member of the deliberative council—or, you attend the general assembly—for whom did you hold up your hand?—to whom did you give your bean?—into whose opinion did you go? Who is your Pericles?—where is your Demosthenes, who urges war? or your Phocion, who dissuades it? Where are your Scipio and Metellus? Your Cicero, your Cato?”

——“ Why, *as it happens*, none of these are in trust at present. Our Phocion talks too much, and, it is whispered, will shortly be sent to Sinope. Our Cicero’s wry neck is so disgusting, that he cannot be suffered in polite company. *Your* Demosthenes had an artificial quinsy, *ours* has a natural one, and his breath is bad. But we do very well: We have Philocrates and Gorgias, and Philip the physician, and Blossius, and Crito the lawyer—

“ Alcandrumque, Haliumque, Noëmonaque, Prytaninque—
——*Fidumque* Gyan, *fidumque* Cloanthum.”

—And all this at a season when we are menaced by a man, more powerful than the Great King, and
more

more artful and ambitious than the one-eyed Macedonian! whilst we are engaged in a contest to which a Mithridatic war is a review!

I have done, Sir, I have, to apologize to you for having intruded upon you. I have said little, and all that I have said must be already known to you. But I apologize not for that, for it ought still to continue to be said, till it is listened to: the greater the multitude of those by whom it is said, the better.

I am,

Sir,

With respect, &c.

THE END.







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